8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 825 231 152 **153. Hange ha pulu kuo ta-halai:** Like an ox that is struck badly.

Obviously modern, since the introduction of cattle. The picture is that of a slaughterer who has missed his aim and only wounded the animal. The ox in its pain bellows aloud. Applied to one who laments or weeps without restraint, at the top of his voice.

539 825 231 183 **154. Taupuji hosi:** Touching horse.

It is possible that the latter part of the first word is the introduced name for cat, *pusi*, in which case the literal translation would probably be, Cat touching (perhaps fighting) horse. This, however, is by no means certain. The phrase is applied directly to a child taking liberties with a horse, with the chance of earning a kick by his temerity. It is also used generally of running into unnecessary danger. The expression dates from the introduction of horses and would seem to have originated when horses were still new to the Tongan people, and objects of more or less awe. [192] The Tongans of today, even quite young boys, are fearless riders.

539 825 571 183 **155. Ji namu tae feongoongoi:** To kill a mosquito without giving warning (more literally, without mutual understanding).

If one sees a mosquito on a companion and gives it a slap the kindly office will perhaps not be appreciated if the blow takes the human recipient too much by surprise. Instead of gratitude anger may be evoked. So one must be sensible about the way in which even the best meant services are rendered.

539 825 **156. Ngali ha liha:** Like a nit.

Rather an abusive way of alluding to small things.

157. Oji e neveneve: The *neveneve* will be finished.

A phrase meaning very many. The *neveneve* is the nest and young [802] of one of the spiders found in Tonga. The nest when opened is always found filled with a very numerous progeny, and so it is said of a great multitude that one will sooner finish counting the *neveneve* than be able to reckon so large a number.

158. Oku lau pe e he mokohula oku ikai ha ua oe lalo takapau: The earwig reckons there is no place like under the mat.

The earwig lives under the mat and if disturbed runs back there for [829] shelter. To him this is the finest place in the world. Used proverbially of out-back folk who have no conception of anything finer than their own restricted surroundings.

539 825 571 **159. Tuakoi a ofato:** Mutual support of the *ofato*.

The *ofato* is a grub that makes its dwelling in rotten wood. In the Tongan group it is apparently found only, or chiefly, in Niua Foou. These grubs, however close together they may lie, never quite touch and will be

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

THE VILLAGE OF PANGAI

LOCATION AND CLIMATE

OF the three island groups into which the modern Kingdom of Tonga is divided, that of Vava'u is northernmost. The position of its chief village, Neiafu, is 18° 39′ south, and 173° 59′ west. Three-fifths of the land area of this northern group is in the one island, 'Uta Vava'u. The remaining islands are separated from the mainland by narrow channels, some of them fordable at low tide. The island (see Fig. 1)[A] on which Pangai village[2] is situated, Pangaimotu,[3] lies directly across Neiafu harbour. The nearest landing-place to the village may be reached by launch in a half hour. By land, it is about a two-hour walk from Neiafu to Pangai along an ill-kept bush track that is officially graced with the title of "road"; the distance is covered in half this time by horse. The ford between 'Uta Vava'u and the island of Pangai may be crossed by horse or on foot at low tide, by horse only—and then with considerable difficulty—at high tide.

[2] Pangai is a fairly common place name in Tonga. It means "meeting place" or "gathering place" and was formerly applied to the permanent or temporary residences of the Tui Kanokupolu or his agents. As noted below, the island of Pangaimotu is a royal estate. The Queen of Tonga is the present holder of the office of Tui Kanokupolu. We have no data however, as to the specific time or occasion in the past when the island and the village received their name, Pangai.

[3] Perhaps a note should be added at this point on orthography. The orthography to which the early Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries reduced the Tongan language and which is in current usage at the present time, is most peculiar. It consists of five vowels and thirteen consonants. The vowels are the standard Polynesian vowel sounds. In the consonantal system however, both *b* and *p* are used for the intermediate Polynesian sound between *p* and *b*; *t* and *j* are also used as if for separate sounds, though referring to a dental *t* sound that is sometimes palatalized before certain vowels. The front palatal nasal *eng* sound is symbolized by *g*. The student has his choice between using an irrational but customary and specifically Tongan orthography on the one hand and, on the other hand, the more widely used standard Polynesian orthography. For the place-names and proper names on the two sketch-maps we have kept the

A. [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

special kin, church-thanksgivings, and the like. It is well to be prepared for these possible functions with pigs on hand. Otherwise the pigs will have to be bought from whomsoever can be persuaded to sell. The price is likely to be high. Biukala, to take a typical case, has now five pigs, three sows and two boars. During 1938 he killed ten pigs: six for his son's first birthday (he also purchased an additional large pig for this feast, thus signalising with a memorable feast the prestige of his high status among the other commoner families of this village), two for Christmas celebrations, and two sucklings which he sold when temporarily short of ready cash. No feast can claim to be a feast without the service of pork. Hence the premium on the keeping of pigs.

Most village households also own at least one horse. This is most useful for visiting distant villages, for riding (bareback) to and from the plantation, and more particularly for use as a pack animal in bringing back heavy loads of food and firewood to the village from the plantations.

Many households possess a few chickens which are used as an occasional food relish and for feasts. The eggs, if any, may be sold for a pittance to the trading station, the manager of which takes them in turn to Neiafu where they are sold from the big stores to the European residents. Two families have several goats, useful for feast-occasions. The village overseer owns two cows and a bull. At rare intervals he sells a cow or a calf to a butcher in Neiafu. He slaughtered one cow himself for the birthday-feast of his son. Neither milk nor manure are used. The animals have mostly prestige value.

Pigs are nominally supposed to be kept inside enclosures in the village. They usually wander round the village, unhindered, unhampered, and occasionally venture into the bush where they often play havoc with the gardens. They are usually fed on mature coconuts, specially if fattening is necessary for a forthcoming feast. Otherwise they root up the free village lands hunting for roots and wallowing in the consequent mud baths during the rainy season. Goats, cows, and horses are kept tethered in the plantations where they find enough green foods to keep them in good condition. Chickens are semi-wild, roosting in the trees and only to be

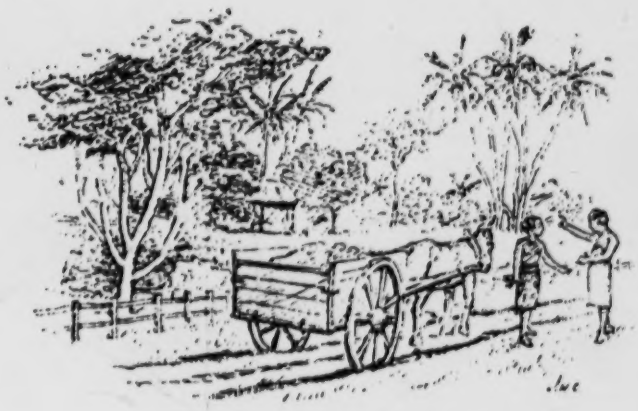
14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

already they were asking why they should not elect one of themselves as President of their "Conference," and why their salaries should be lower than that of their white brother. From this it is only a step to a new and original interpretation of the Scriptures, and to a bastard Christianity like the Hauhauism of the Maories and the Tuka of Fiji.

Our three great *fonos* were a decided success. We rode first to Hihifo with an informal escort of mounted police and clerks, not excepting the faithful spy, Peter. Tungi, being past the age and figure for equestrian exercise, travelled in an American buggy, which stuck fast every now and then in the deep mud caused by the rains, while we rode on at the untiring canter that is the easiest pace for Tongan ponies. Few of our escort had girths, and not all had saddles, but this did not seem to incommode them in the least. We reached Kolowai, the chief town, plastered with mud, and halted under the celebrated colony of flying-foxes. They were a revolting sight. Four great banyan and ironwood trees shaded the road, and these were covered with the living fruit so thickly clustered that the branches drooped with their weight. Thousands upon thousands hung there from their hind-claws, sleeping, crawling, squealing, quarrelling, stretching their uncanny sails, and scratching their light-brown heads with a winged claw. The leaves and the grass beneath the trees had long ago been killed by their unwholesome presence; and the stench was so overpowering that we had to edge to windward. They are *tabu*—Heaven knows why, for they do immense damage to the plantations—and they are never shot at. Formerly, it is said, they

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

turned to the left they were loyal subjects of King George, going to pay their just debts to his Government; if they took the straight road on they were traitors and renegades, who loved filthy lucre better than the honour of their country. I tried to guess from the drivers' faces which way they would turn. "Here," I thought, "is a loyalist." The mild-faced, semi-clerical-looking driver left the reins slack on the horse's neck: the cart creaked



"There was an animated discussion."

onward. For one moment it seemed to pause as if about to turn off, but it was fancy: the horse did not leave the middle rut, and the driver was a traitor in loyalist clothing after all. Clumsily disguised though, for I used then to remember that he had a cunning expression about the mouth, for all his assumed benevolence. Once a long string of carts going towards the traders so exasperated me that I sent a servant to waylay the next comer, and to tell him to take his freight to the Government stores.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

576 A more delicate, if less important, question was that of the marks of respect to be paid to nobles. The Tongans still cling tenaciously to certain ancient forms of respect, such as the unturbaned head and the cinctured waist in the precincts of a village. To traverse Nukualofa without a girdle would be a greater solecism than to walk the length of Piccadilly hatless and in one's shirt-sleeves. But the more servile forms of homage to chiefs—squatting at the roadside or performing *moemoe*—were so inconvenient that by the king's order a *quasi*-military salute 576 was generally substituted. In Polynesia, to raise your- 492 self physically above another is to lay claim to a moral superiority over him, and the introduction of horses [156] brought a new difficulty. To sit elevated above the world on the back of a horse tends to make Tongans cheeky, just as in Fiji the consciousness of having long hair makes the most respectful man insolent to his 576 superiors. Many years before, a law had been enacted 492 compelling commoners to dismount when they passed a 565 member of the Upper House, or rode past his house. The Europeans laid the blame of this enactment at Mr Baker's door; but, if I may judge from the savage tenacity with which the nobles clung to this obnoxious section, it is more probable that the law was passed in spite of him. Puerile as the restriction appears, let it not be forgotten that a primitive people is always ruled by outward forms; and wherever in the Pacific, and indeed elsewhere, a tribe is found who show no respect to their chiefs, there will be a people less susceptible to government and good order. Such laws, of course, always tend towards the ridiculous. A noble died, and one Jone

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Fifita, his distant cousin, was invested with the vacant title. He was taking the air on the day of his elevation, marching in the middle of the road with the noble mien suited to his new dignity, when seven horsemen, his boon companions in humbler days, met him, showing no disposition to get out of his way. 576 492 565

"Why do you not dismount?" he shouted.

For answer they snatched the empty sacks that lay across their horses' withers, and, covering their faces with them, deliberately rode him down, crying through the sacks, "Recognise us, and take us to court for insolence, Jone!" His lordship laid informations against several innocent persons who were able to prove an *alibi*, bringing down upon his head thereby the lampoons of half Tonga; for it is fair to say that the Tongans, who have been called the "Snobs of the Pacific," are as quick to recognise and ridicule the peculiar failings of the snob as even Thackeray could have wished. [689]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

231 One result of the introduction of horses has been the
137 almost entire destruction of the bread-fruit-tree throughout Tonga. The glutinous sap is irresistible to horses, and they greedily tear off the bark as far up the trunk as they can reach, of course killing the tree.

The men ride like centaurs, but, unlike centaurs, they
231 have no hands. As a consequence, the Tongan pony
492 has no mouth. Almost as soon as the boys can walk they are galloping barebacked, with no bridle but a rope knotted round the horse's nose. Grown men generally use a saddle of some kind without girths or surcingle,
[562] and too often without stuffing. The women have not yet taken to riding like their cousins in Hawaii, who have even converted the European women of the place to trousers and a man's saddle.

The people are as cruel to their animals as the Egyp-
231 tian donkey-boys. A sore back is never thought a reason
825 for sparing a horse. I have seen ponies returning from the plantations in the evening with a basket of yams slung on either side with a sinnet cord, which was cutting deep into a bleeding raw on the withers. I stopped the man and tried to convince him of his brutality. He was simply incapable of comprehending the idea of cruelty to animals,—an idea which, after all, is only found among the stricter Buddhists and the Anglo-Saxons, and with the latter is but the growth of a single century.

The wheel traffic of Tonga has increased enormously.
493 Every man who can afford it has a cart, the richer natives
[491] American buggies. In wet weather the wheels cut the soft grass-roads into rivers of mud, in which the wheels are logged to the axle-trees. On such roads the heaviest

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 Before the civil wars he used to live on his farm, but today it may be
[461] some distance from his home in the village. Four days' not too strenuous work a week is usually enough to provide for his family's needs. A few friends may join together to do work on each other's farms, but arrangements of this sort are quite irregular.

241 About half of a typical farm consists of an unkempt area devoted to
311 the permanent cultivation of coconuts, and the remainder of a number of small plots cleared from a general area of bush and weeds. Less than half of it will be in use at any time since spelling is practised to conserve
241 fertility. Yams, bananas, and corn are planted on the better land, as are the tapa trees, a species of mulberry from whose bark the women fashion a coarse cloth. Taros thrive on less fertile soil, while kumalas and tapioca do well on comparatively poor land. Bananas and tapa trees are left to grow for three years on the same spot, but the food plants are shifted every year. Intermingled with these major crops may be found pineapples, paw-paws, breadfruit, mangoes, kava, tobacco, cotton, chillies, ginger, candlenuts, citrus fruits and a few European vegetables. Somewhere on the holding it is usual to raise sugar cane for thatch, reeds for house walls, pandanus for mats and baskets, and various shrubs for scents and dyes.

A farmer in Tonga Tabu will have about 250 yams, 200 tapioca plants, 100 kumalas, 100 banana trees, and 50 pineapple plants. These figures are fairly typical for the whole Kingdom but some variations occur. In Ha'apai holdings are smaller and more carefully cultivated, with fewer yams and more tapioca; in Vavau there are fewer kumalas but more breadfruit and corn; in the Niuas breadfruit replaces yams as the major food crop.

231 Primarily an agriculturalist, the Tongan makes little use of animals.
He keeps perhaps half-a-dozen fowls, three or four pigs, and occasionally
[492] a goat or cow for butchering rather than for milking. Usually he owns a horse but does not use it for any farm work except carting. Sheep
262 are not raised at all. To relieve the monotony of a largely vegetarian diet he resorts mainly to fish, which is plentiful everywhere.

434 For a moderate amount of work, then, the Tongan's allotment
241 provides him with food, housing materials, tapa cloth, mats and baskets. Besides these necessities it affords him a few small luxuries such as kava,
434 tobacco, scents, dyes, and native substitutes for soap. When he requires cash to pay taxes or rent, to meet Church subscriptions, or to buy a few store goods, he has only to harvest some of his copra or bananas.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

805
492
498

[226]

"Taimi fakatonga," an expression referring to leisurely "Tongan time," allows man the prerogative of being master of time. (*Above:* Ha'asini, Tongatapu. *Opposite:* Pangai, Ha'apai.)

Oku meimei fa'itsiiha pe e Tonga kotoa ki he taimi 'e fai ai 'a'ene ngaue. Ko e 'uhinga ia 'o e kamata ngaue'aki e lea ko e "taimi fakatonga." Na'e fai e ta 'i 'olunga 'i Ha'asini, Tongatapu, pea ko e ta 'i to'omata'u na'e fai ia 'i Pangai, Ha'apai.

492

[1.90]

metal adzes (toki Tonga), owned by only 2 percent of the sample households. In the cases of machetes, hele pelu, and the two most important spades, the huo keli and the huo lafalafa, many households owned more than one of each. Rakes and shovels are commonest in the urban area of Nuku'alofa where ornamental gardens are more prevalent.

Using only these implements, most Tongan farmers cut down the bush or forest vegetation and after burning the accumulated plant material after drying, prepare the land for planting, plant, weed, and harvest the different crops. An increasing number of farmers, however, are beginning to use the tractor-pulled plow and disc-harrow and, although only one out of 141 households owned a tractor, 53 percent have had their allotments plowed at one time or another, mostly by the Coconut Replanting Scheme or the Agriculture Department for planting new coconuts or other export crops. Of the 140 households interviewed, 43 percent felt that plowing was good for the soil, 44 percent felt that it was bad and caused the soil to become infertile, 13 percent had no opinion. Regardless of the feeling of the average Tongan the Agriculture Department, the Coconut Replanting Scheme, and the Produce Board have been advocating the use of the plow rather than burning the dried vegetable matter. Although the Agriculture Department has experimented with draught animals for plowing, Tongans have never adopted this practice (Government of Tonga, 1952:3).

241 For commuting between the bush and town allotments and
481 transporting agricultural produce, the commonest modes of
494 transportation are walking, riding horses, horsecarts
493 (saliote), bicycles, and buses. Of a sample of 140 house-
492 holds, only 9 percent owned a motor vehicle whereas 26
percent owned bicycles; 28 percent owned horsecarts (saliote)
494 and 48 percent owned horses. The percentage of households
369 owning bicycles and motor vehicles and those riding buses
to their bush allotments was higher for Nuku'alofa than the
rural areas, whereas understandably the reverse was true of
241 those owning horses and horsecarts. Farmers desiring to
494 transport considerable volumes of crops, firewood, or other
427 material often rent trucks or horsecarts. In maintaining
241 the fertility of the soil, Tongan farmers have considerable
242 empirical knowledge and understand the necessity of crop
rotation and a sufficient fallow period. They realize that
stands of large trees or certain shrubs and herbs, such as
Lantana camara, Leucaena leucocephala, Paspalum conjugatum,
and Phaseolus semierectus, indicate better soil than species
like Panicum maximum, Cyperus rotundus, or Sida rhombifolia.
They also realize that the length of the fallow period has
been declining and that the soils are presently more
impoverished than in the past. The primary means that most
Tongans use to improve soil fertility are fallowing and
[654] burning dead plant material. The government encourages the
use of commercial fertilizers, and out of 137 sample house-

/166 cont./

244 [137] which were often brought to the Archipelago by Europeans, are planted in very small quantities on the Archipelago. The Tongans have scarcely been able to develop a liking for these useful plants, especially since they do not thrive as a result of the careless and neglectful way they are tended.

489 [361] Since the plantations are sometimes a considerable distance from the dwellings--in contrast to ancient Tongan times--the question of how to transport the harvest (which sometimes consists of many heavy 482 tubers) must be solved. The Tonga often still use old ways of carrying. 198 To transport coconuts, for example, they split the outer skin of the husk like splints, then tie into a bundle four or five splints and carry home on their shoulders two of these bundles by means of a coconut leaf stem (to which the bundles are attached, front and back). Harvested tubers, bananas, etc., are most often carried in the traditional coconut-leaf baskets (kato lou niu) hastily plaited on the plantations, which the natives /167/ likewise carry by means of a coconut leaf stalk (resting on their shoulders and notched so that they can hook the basket on). The coconut leaf stalk is stuck through the basket itself. Often, the handles of the farming tools (for example, huo spade, huo lafa-lafa) are used as carrying sticks. The horse, which was brought 492 [136] to Tonga by Europeans, renders many natives important service as a [493] riding and pack animal, and some natives own two-wheel European carts [177] drawn by horses, which very much facilitate the transportation of even abundant harvests to the villages.

241 Seen as a whole, Tongan agriculture seems to us little changed. 198 The traditional crops (supplemented by manioc) still form the basis 177 of the food of the inhabitants. The significance of cultivated plants introduced by Europeans is no more than "supplementary." The tools and methods of cultivation are also basically the same, though improvement and additions to the tools, as well as a certain lapse in

/170 cont./

231
[232] 453. See J. J. Labilladière, Relation du Voyage... /Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 149.

and do so today in order to obtain more tender meat.

Chicken:

231
235
[178]
[262] The--still mostly semi-wild--chickens have approximately the same importance in the economy of the commoners as in older times. They too are not part of the daily food, but constitute the "reserve" for various (festive) occasions /171/ when a pig need not be slaughtered and one can make do with a chicken. Most of the nobles today act in the same way, in contrast to past times. (454)

454. See, for example, W. Waldegrave, Extracts... p. 187.

Chickens are free on village properties and also on the plantations. They usually roost in trees. Thay are quite timid, especially on the plantations. (There, for feeding, they are still sometimes called out of thickets with the conch shell.) Chickens are fed the grated meat of ripe coconuts; but they find a large part of their necessary food by themselves. The natives generally pay little [262] attention to their eggs which they lay in the bush and in hidden places in the village.

Horse:

231
492
[136] Horses were repeatedly brought to Tonga by Europeans. But it has only been in the last eight decades that the Tongans, to an increasing extent, realized how useful these animals can be to bridge the often great distances to the plantations. The natives have become quite skillfull riders, and especially the young often race over the bad [541] roads in the bush land at a bold gallop. Impromptu horse races are quite popular in some places (for example, on Tongatapu and Vava'u). The natives ride without a saddle or, instead, use an old European sack or a bundle of dried banana leaves. On such pads they frequently

/171 cont./

231 492 transport to the village their tubers, coconuts and other plantation products in a sack or coconut-leaf basket that lies crosswise in front of the rider. The owners of European two-wheel carts (455)

493 177 422 455. In the various villages, some one-eighth or one-fourth of the households own such carts.

can bring heavy loads home with their horses; the harness consists of a leather collar, a wooden back yoke /?/ /Ruckenbugel/, iron head harness and lines; a twig serves as a whip. Sometimes they also slaughter horses which they like to eat occasionally.

262

231 The Tongan makes horse-raising very comfortable for himself. There are no stalls or enclosures. He tethers his horse near his house in the village, so that it can graze, or he ties it to a tree on the plantation where it can find its food. Water shortage makes it necessary to lead horses specially to watering places, which is not always easy. On the plantations horses often cause considerable damage, especially if they break away. The Tongan does not know how to look after horses and groom them. He often continues to use them as riding and pack animals even when they have open wounds on their backs as a result of improper treatment.

492

439 The horses imported mostly from Australia and New Zealand are said to have decreased after a few generations, probably because of changed living conditions.

Cow:

136 This domestic animal repeatedly introduced to Tonga by whites has to this day not become prevalent or of importance on the islands. Very few natives keep cattle, which are chiefly thought of as furnishing meat; cows are not milked. The animals are tethered on a rope on the plantations, so that they can find their food within a circumscribed area. Sometimes the natives lead them to a watering place, but they also leave them a few days or even weeks in one place,

/200 cont./

245
[177]

524. Copra is the cut-up and dried kernel meat (endosperm) loosened from the hard shell of the ripe coconut.

is a relatively new activity for the Tongans, which goes back only to contact with Europeans and is today carried out on all the inhabited islands of the Archipelago. The work itself, as well as particularly the money made from it, influence the life of these natives to a certain extent.

/201/The work of copra production in the Tonga Archipelago proceeds as follows: On his plantation the native gathers the ripe nuts that have dropped from the coconut palms. He usually takes these [492] to his place in the village in his own or a borrowed horse cart, (525)

525. See p. 256-258.

or he carries out the entire process of copra production directly on his plantation, especially if he has a little drying hut and the distance to the village seems too great. In sunny weather he splits
245 412 the nuts (which are still encased in their fiber husks) with an axe into two halves and spreads out rather large quantities of these, with the meat side up, to dry in the sun. After two or three days, (526)

526. In bad weather, or at night, he turns the halves upside down and places them slatwise against each other so that they form chains and the rain can run off the rounded outer sides.

he takes the meat (in larger or smaller pieces) out of the hard shells with the copra knife.

Copra knife (hele hihi niu)
(Expedition Collection, No. 95)

/228 cont./

choir practice; school work.

and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday. Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/ distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

The horse (597)

597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

231 TABLE 15.--Livestock Owned by Tongan Households: Sample of 265.

	Households Owning (%)	Mean Owned per Household	Range of Ownership	Total No. of Livestock Owned By Entire Sample
Horse	38	1.0	1-6	98
Cattle	12	4.0	1-12	124
Pigs	55	4.9	1-48	700
Goats	27.5	2.5	1-8	179
Total fowl	70	20.2	1-50	3,676

[101] SOURCE: William F. Clark, data collected through personal survey, Kingdon of Tonga, August-October, 1974.

[438] [439] Livestock, as a food source or a cash product, is raised almost exclusively for the domestic market. Very little of this produce is exported to neighboring nations. In addition, the domestic role of livestock is complex and complicated by tradition. 262 Pork is consumed more frequently than any other meat source, excluding fish, and with the possible exception of poultry. 272 Fresh milk, for feeding small children, is usually in short supply, although the large number of goats on the islands represents a potential source of milk protein. Tradition, however, undermines the widespread use 262 of goat's milk. Food production and consumption patterns in traditional Tongan society are more often influenced by social custom than by need.

231 Survey results indicated that horses are owned by 38 per- 492 cent of Tongan households, and are used as a means of transportation.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

231 Horses are most frequently used for transporting agricultural produce
492 from farm to village markets, either as pack animals or in con-
231 junction with a cart (Plate 9). A Despite their obvious usefulness, horses are largely uncared for in the Kingdom, being frequently overworked and then tied in the bush or village with insufficient food and water. As a result, many of the animals evidence gross nutritional deficiencies and, subsequently, operate far below their potential.[1]

Cattle were reported as being owned by 12 percent of the surveyed households. Generally speaking, these households had access to more land than the average, and therefore could allot land for pasture in addition to agricultural cultivation. Cattle are not an integral part of Tongan agriculture, and at present provide only limited quantities of meat and milk. Although past attempts to establish herds on Tongatapu and 'Eua have met with varied success, cattle are not expected to become a significant factor in Tongan [245] agriculture. Occasionally, cattle are grazed on cash crop plantations (i.e., coconut), in an attempt to reduce the grass and weed

---

[262] [1]The plight of the horse is similar to that of the dog, a frequent food source in Tongan society, in respect to general care. Both have a marked dependency upon man for food and care. In the case of cattle, status insures the well-being of the animal, while pigs, goats, and fowl are able to sustain themselves as efficient scavengers. However, the domestic dog evidences neither characteristic, and is often in a state of starvation, due to his dependency. The same is true of the horse. Therefore, a seemingly contradictory image of livestock is found. Poorly maintained horses, which are essential to agricultural transportation, and dogs, which provide a food source, exist in conjunction with healthy pigs, goats and fowl, the scavengers of Tongan agriculture.

A [Due to poor quality of original, plate has not been marked for a Category--Analyst.]